1: Current B-4, 9 (ca. 1889) 1891
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649 Not being sure of the day of his wife's return home,
509 he had not been anxious at her non-arrival, but had been spending the evening with a party of friends. A question had arisen regarding his bravery; and, to vindicate it, he had accepted a wager to go alone at midnight to the Bas Khan, and leave there a token of his visit. He had been searching for a safe place in which to leave this token, unawed by the ghastly missiles hurled at him, as he supposed, by some hamlits who had taken up their abode in the khan.

489 Mr. Rich, when travelling in Kurdistan, met a
543 girl of the Bulbassi tribe who had killed with a spear
179 a Turk who insulted her. This young Amazon was dressed like a man, and served the chief, Faraklah Elkasli, as his faithful henchman, accompanying him on all his expeditions. The women of this tribe are particularly lively and intrepid. They sometimes take to the road as brigands, and unlucky is the trader or traveller who falls into their hands. Not content with robbing him, they strip him, excite him to make proposals to them, and then punish him for so doing with every species of mild torture which their lively imaginations can suggest, such as pinching, scratching, and scourging with thorns.

542 In the domestic circle the women are treated as
513 equals by the men, who are most affectionate in their relations with their parents, sisters, and children, and in the character of husbands most considerate, kind, and forbearing. As an illustration of this latter trait, and at the same time of manners generally among the sedentary Kurds, I cannot do better than give the following charming story.

sought in by government officials and their wives, but it is not obvious. Slapping the hands to summon a servant, rarely encountered in a typical Kurdish household, or prohibiting them the use of the toilet facilities of the master are the two most pointed examples. However, servants even in this category understand little of the servile behavior associated with those of the city. "It is comical," said an official. "My servant speaks to me like an old friend, and often tells me what to do. When I try to scold him for something, he argues with me and tells me that I am the one who is wrong. On the other hand, he never steals anything, and tells everyone in the neighborhood what a great man I am."

The service of others is by no means strange or uncommon in Kurdistan, but in the country the concept of a servant is that of a family retainer, a person of the second category and not a wage-earner or a menial, who receives food and lodging, and occasionally "gifts" of money, and who, while in no sense a party to the realities of inheritance or marriage, is to most purposes a member of the family. Indeed, the exchange of kinship terms, such as Xal, "uncle," or xiz, "aunt," with such a retainer is commonplace, similar to our own "Uncle" Tomms or "Aunt" Nanny prior to the Civil War. Almost all of these people come from the villages, and their residence in Rawanduz is only temporary, although it may be repeated again and again. Many of the women have quarreled with their

servants, and welcome a respite of a few weeks. To give an example, Shaikh Effendi owns extensive village lands and is well known to his tenants. Throughout the year persons, for a variety of reasons, appear at his house in Kawandos to take service for a short time and then to return to their villages. Lalli Khan always has ten or fifteen such retainers, many of them women. "It would be a grave mistake to call Lalli Khan's people servants," one man told, "because it would bring the whole House of Isam'il Beg after one as an insult. You see that she dresses them up in fine clothing and covers the women with gold." Of such retainers, it remains to mention those who serve as bodyguards (ghulam, from Arabic, "servant," sometimes ghulaug). Just as barbarian Germanic chieftains in ancient times had the practice of surrounding themselves with bands of warrior "companions," the Kurdish chieftain attracts a following, varying in size with his wealth and importance, who are accorded the same treatment as retainers, save that they are armed and usually exempted from menial tasks. They are typically young men, impatient with village life and desirous of the prestige that surrounds an armed guard, and form a formidable group, those who carry out the work and sustain most of the casualties of the vendetta. There are a dozen or so resident in Kawandos. The House of Isam'il Beg has a number, that of Hadi Agha and his brother As'ad Agha several, and Hasin Agha, son of the imprisoned Nuri Bewil Agha, only one. Except in degree of permanence, there is no particular

agreed with them and went beyond them in the estimation of her worth, only the sale of all my family's property could realise their demand. One of them was kind enough to take me aside and to explain that there was a substantial difference between the documentary amount, published to the townspeople, and that which must actually be paid." It is perhaps for this reason that the mountain, the amount "paid" at the time of the wedding, is a much larger proportion of the dowry than the mu'ajjal, that which must be forthcoming in divorce, the former representing in part the social fiction and the latter a more realistic economic appraisal. Nevertheless, the dowry functions strongly as an argument against headless separations, and few men, having invested a substantial part of their own or their relatives' capital in a match, will undertake divorce lightly. As recorded above, many persons use unusual monetary gains to give their wives jewelry of precious metal, a matter of pleasure for the lady and, at the same time, further insurance against divorce or financial catastrophe.

To approach the Kurdish kinship system, it is necessary to deal with certain other aspects of marriage, the first of which is incest. Unlawful intercourse or marriage between certain relatives is also governed by the religious law of Islam, and one cannot with confidence adduce anything from contemporary Kurdish society which will provide a functional or final explanation of the specific determinants of these prescriptions. There is

to replace the boy he had lost. Women share as much as their husbands in this desire. Lail Khan was so stricken by the death of Imam'il Beg, her son, that she made her mourning perpetual. If, for some reason, a man has no son, he often turns to those of his brother or sister, showering them with affection and gifts. Girls, of course, share in the love of their parents and do not receive treatment which would cause them to be too jealous of their brothers, but never acquire the standing of a male. The caravanserai of Imam'il Beg has flowers placed next to it daily, and an animal, whose flesh is distributed to the poor, is slaughtered in his memory almost every week. In contrast, the son of Shaikh Effendi pointed out the grave of his daughter who had died in infancy to visitors by throwing a pebble at it.

The third emphasis is that placed on seniority within the family. The male usually takes precedence over the female, and the eldest does the same over those younger than himself. Thus the children, both boys and girls, must observe respect towards their elder brothers and sisters, parents, uncles, aunts, and grandparents.

Turning now to a more exact delineation of the relationships within the unit, little more has been done than to rephrase and combine several of the narratives recorded. The first question which might be treated is that of parents and their children. The relationship between a father and his son, as one might suspect from the foregoing, is one of the most important to the former,

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although he often counsels the solicitous of his heir and 593 ●
wife, much more than any other person in the family, as the disciplinarian. The son is required to stand in his [574]
father's presence until bidden to seat himself and the latter's directions have the effect of absolute law. As his heir, the son must seek his father's aid and counsel in financial matters and all affairs of importance, such as a career or a marriage. The father, however, is not a confidant until the son has married and passed well into adulthood. The mother, in contrast, is the general repository of her son's secrets and a friend and companion. "If a son is in need of money, he sometimes goes to his mother and obtains it from her secretly. If he smokes, she furnishes him with cigarettes." It is through the influence of the mother with her spouse that a youth attempts to obtain his wishes from his father. If a young man desired a new suit of clothes and had reason to believe his father might demur, he carries his problem to his mother who exerts her influence on his behalf. A man need not exhibit deferential conduct toward his mother, as in the case of the father. The relationship between father and daughter is similar to that between the former and his son. She must rise when her father enters the room and observe [575]
respectful behavior toward him. "She must never reply harshly, and must always say 'yes,' rather than 'no.' If her reply is sharp, her father may beat her. If her mother intervenes, both may be beaten." On the other hand, in return for gracious conduct, such as bringing

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his kin or mates and a capable to wash his hands, the father often provides the daughter with gifts of clothing and jewelry. As is the case of the son, the mother is the general spokesman of the girl, keeping her accounts and presenting her wishes to the father. Either son or daughter may quarrel with their parents, the former always with the better chance of success.

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is extremely gentle, particularly that between grandfather and grandson. "Everyone in the house has great respect for the grandfather. When he arrives, all rise his hand and he gives them a blessing. If he is old enough, the grandson bathes his grandfather and, in summer, carries him on the bed on the roof on his back." The grandmother is held in like esteem. Kissing the hand of such a relative as a token of respect is accomplished in Kwandon by taking the right hand of the person in question, bending over it and touching the lips to the back, and then pressing the open kissed to the forehead. If the grandmother is part of the household, she often acts in authority over her daughter-in-law and is much more of a confidant to her grandchildren than the mother, indulging them more than their parents desire. Because a man retains the intimacy with his mother in later life, she can be a much more effective channel of appeal from a grandchild to the father than her daughter-in-law.

The connections between an individual and his uncles and aunts are somewhat varied. "The paternal

uncle (ssa) loves the children of his brother as much as his own. If he has daughters, he gives them to his brother's sons as wives. If he is sick, he looks after his nephews and nieces, washing them clothing and soap, and supporting the boys in school. If his brother dies, he takes the survivors of the deceased into his own house. When he comes for a visit, he brings gifts for the children. They shout, gathering around him, and the infants are placed on his knees." As in the case of the father and grandfather, boys and girls are expected to stand in the presence of the uncle. The maternal uncle (shi) is a much rarer visitor in the house, although he is also a potential parent-in-law and guardian. "Sometimes the maternal uncle does not like his sister's treatment of her children." In the absence of relatives on the paternal side, a widow may apply to her brother for help. The paternal and maternal aunts (sisi) are much more frequent visitors if they do not live within the house itself. Relations with them do not require any extraordinary deferential conduct. The wives of the paternal and maternal uncles, if they are not consanguineal relatives, are treated with greater reserve. Visits are not ordinarily exchanged between a man and his maternal relatives except on infrequent occasions. When a paternal uncle, his wife, or a paternal aunt arrive, they are taken into the house of the family. In contrast, the maternal uncle or an unrelated husband of the paternal aunt are usually entertained in the <u>simbizha</u>

guest-room, apart from all of the rooms of the house.

The eldest brother occupies a position over his brothers and sisters analogous to that of the father. He shares to some extent in the parental authority and is responsible for the house when the father is absent. Often he is entrusted with money from which he gives his younger brothers their *poniuau*, "daily allowance," a sum which increases in size with their years. The children are taught to save this money in a box, and whenever the eldest brother makes a journey to Hilo or a similar place he issues their savings and purchases them something they desire. Like that of the father, his word is law and all of his directions must be carried out by their junior to him without altercation. Whenever he enters the room, the younger children are supposed to stand, although this is not invariably done. If the eldest of the children is a girl, she has much the same authority as a boy, without, however, the formalities mentioned above. She is usually the chief helper of her mother in housework and the care of the younger children. In several families observed in which the eldest was a girl, the brothers disobeyed or teased her only at the risk of being punished. There seems to be little of a hierarchy among the younger brothers and sisters, and it cannot be said, as it sometimes is in America, that the youngest is the darling of the family, save in the case in which he is the first boy. The boys learn very early to be jealous of their sisters' honor, not only in protecting them in the usual quarrels

of childhood, usually below 10's. If a woman is returned for some reason to her parental home, it is as much a reflection on her brothers as on herself.

In all of the situations outlined thus far there has been no question of the will, except for a maternal uncle and a husband of a paternal aunt who are not permitted to associate freely with all of the women of the house unless they happen to be close friends of the mother. The well mature is between couples of marriageable age, and the striking difference between a married man and a bachelor is encountered for the first time. When a young man reaches what is considered adulthood, about fifteen or sixteen years, women of other houses begin to conceal their faces from him. If, for example, he visited the house of his father's brother, the latter's wife might appear unveiled to him, but the adult, unmarried daughters of the house would be at least shy and retiring in his presence, usually fleeing at his approach (not, however, losing the opportunity to observe the potential bridegroom from hiding). When he is married, the whole situation changes and he is free to mingle with them unveiled, even sleep together in a room. There are, of course, some of these restrictions among male cousins and among female cousins. Two youths who are cousins greet each other by shaking hands or kissing each other on the cheek. It is said that a young man could greet the daughter of his paternal uncle by kissing her on the arm or shoulder, but [516]

is seem likely that this is only permissible after the two have been engaged to be married.

The relations between husband and wife are highly variable, depending greatly on the personalities involved. In association theory, a wife should be submissive, obeying her husband's wishes as though they were commands and observing the same type of deference exhibited to her father. The husband is able to punish her, perhaps by beating, as he might his own child. Reality, however, is otherwise, for there are wives who fulfill this ideal and others who do not, and there appears to be little correspondence between overt status in situations in which the wife achieves a dominant position over her husband. The status of a bride within the family is greatly strengthened by the birth of her first son, and she may thereafter command much greater attention and respect from her husband and relatives by marriage. She may be tyrannized by her mother-in-law until this event takes place. Similarly, separations or divorces are less frequent after the birth of a male heir. The wife is the mistress of her household and receives money from the husband for its maintenance. As the recipient of the dowry and an heir of her parents, she enjoys a certain amount of potential independence. Beyond these remarks it is difficult to go further. A number of marriages were described in which the women quietly assumed almost dictatorial powers over their husbands and their households. A daughter of the aristocracy, by virtue of her father's rank, appears to be much less liable to

life-development than one of inner status. 891

The department employed of a man toward his relatives by marriage depends to some extent on whether or not the two families are related. If, for example, he has married the daughter of his father's brother, he is much more intimate with his parents-in-law and their other children. In other cases, he must behave with greater reserve, and, if he accompanies his wife on a visit to her parental home, does not enjoy absolute freedom of the house. In actual theory, he may address his relatives by marriage by the names he uses for his own parents, brothers, and sisters. Similarly, a woman who has not taken a siblings may be initially placed at some disadvantage, although, of course, she may circulate freely in the household. She becomes much more intimate with her husband's relatives than he with hers. In time, particularly after the birth of her first son, a wife can achieve a position of dominance in her husband's family. Through her influence, a man is often called upon to alienate his relatives by marriage if they are in distress and to take them into his own house if rejected.

The presence of servants in the wealthier household and the manner in which they regard themselves as members of the family has already been noticed. The household servants may be married or unmarried, but there must never be any question of sexual relations between them and their employers. A woman, save in the occasional case of a

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must be the mosque, in a wooden stand on which are to be found books of flowers and a framed photograph of the deceased. Visitors to the house are expected to call at the mosque, and to recite the Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Quran, for the benefit of the dead. A tomb arranged in this way, while it is not usual in Rowanduz, is characteristically Islamic, and similar structures for the burial of great persons may be encountered almost everywhere in the Middle East.

In closing this section, it might be remembered that it was chosen to outline the discussion to the Kurdish townspeople. The family life of the Kurdish aristocracy is identical with that of the commoners of the town, save in the broader inclusion of relatives in the dwelling and in the size and splendor of its entertainment. That of the government elite, the officials and officers of Arab or Turkish descent, has a background elsewhere in Iraq. The language and customs in an official's family are usually exotic. This last, however, must be taken with qualification because the government elite are largely recruited from the upper class of society, and, as educated "moderns," may ignore, or, indeed, be ignorant of the folk customs of their village or town of origin. Similarly, the family of a married official, if he has brought his wife to Rowanduz, is limited in the sense that it is separated from the large body of kindred to which it belongs in another area, and a number of events in the official's life, such as inheritance

or marriage, have their home in that place, rather than in the town. It is interesting that this class, which regards itself as "modern" and "progressive," should believe things held to be reactionary by some of the townspeople, specifically the absolute segregation of women. Even a politically-minded official would not dare to let his wife have the same freedom in the town she can enjoy in England or some other city. The townspeople often commented on the peculiar behaviour of the medical officer who kept his wife in the greatest seclusion, although those who had caught a glimpse of her said she was no particular beauty. This segregation on the part of the officials and officers has an automatic effect on the townspeople of greater wealth who do the same to their own wives and daughters where otherwise they might have permitted them greater liberty.

The primary task of this section has been to present an analysis of the family life of the average townsman, and it is important to notice that the family does not seem to constitute an important area of change in the transformation of the culture. Ba'ud Effendi, like so many elders, remarked that the society of the town had changed for the worse from Ottoman days, but, on going over all of the affairs of the family, he was only able to conclude that "youth had greater respect for age" fifty years ago. In spite of this observation, the family in Kawawaba is still a distinctly patriarchal organization and its members are

bound to it by strong ties. In contrast, in the families 593
of the government elite, not those of the town, but others
encountered in different areas of Iraq, the larger family
can break down, sons rebelling against their fathers and
disassociating themselves from their relatives. It is in [762]
the official class, rather than among groups such as the [733]
commoners or aristocrats of Rowanduz, that alcoholism and [565]
suicide is found.

It has not been thought necessary to compare the 593
family life of Rowanduz at every point with that of other 171
Islamic groups, for that would require material so ex-
tensive that it would double the size of this study and
obscure its central theme. The reader who wishes to do
so may have reference to a number of works, for example,
Edward Lane's remarkably detailed treatment of Egyptian
life in the nineteenth century, and one feels confident
that he will reach an identical conclusion, that the struc-
ture of the family in Rowanduz is almost the same as that
found in similar towns in Egypt or Syria.[1] The departures
of Rowanduz, for example, cutting the hair of the new head
of a dead man's household, are not large in number and are
wholly in detail. The usages of the townspeople seem to be 171
much less elaborate than those of, say, the inhabitants of 184
Egypt in the nineteenth century, but further investigation
in the Rowanduz district which would take into account
the agricultural villages might reveal additional peculiarities.

[1]Lane, 1908.

369 512 representatives of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages, but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a emotional conflict existed between the original, normal type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

342 178 As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both fellaheen teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the east corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with bundles, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family unit would, after the birth of the first child, divide the woman entering the women's world of the house, the man the man's world outside — the furnishings would be included in the minimum, flexible, movable pattern.

The only possible solution of the problem of housing so large a number of family members in a house with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

Fig. 11, 421 figg. 24 and 26. Ground plan of house for newly-married couple. Fellaheen. Scale 1:200.
a, central living room; b-c-d, sleeping rooms; e, store room; f, cooking and baking facilities in courtyard; g-i (facades); i-j (latrine); g, guest room.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

It, therefore, The object of the changeover is removed from the home, as children about 5 [illegible] for the wives remaining behind. The distribution of work between the various generations of women in the home, where the younger waited on the elder, is thus destroyed and replaced by its converse. Also dissolved is the stable family hierarchy still to be found in the villages, where the children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

Bishop[17] says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Longrigg and Stocks[18] remark that childhood in Iran is no definite age, but rather a matter of whether or not one is regarded as adult. Accordingly, the time until the child became a small adult with responsibility was made as short as possible.

In my opinion our culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than is the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, both in regard to work and leisure, in order that later they shall be able to honour the big demands made upon them by an industrialized society. As a result the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the child to be able to attend to its schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member of a small community, possessing its definite position and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater maturity than that provided by any amount of school attendance.

Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was doing away with piety, and the younger generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and what goes with it from an historical angle. None of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers. Islam's heavy religious demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home.

Activities	Village Community		Suburb		Provincial town		Metropolitan town	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Work at home	+		+		+		+	
Work outside home				+				+
Schooling		+		+		+	+	+
Street life		+		+		+	+	+

A contrast to girls in all four female environments in existence in the home according to age, whereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. For the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus obtaining the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the humble village milieu, also help in the adult women in work outside the home, milking, fetching of water etc. For girls in an urban milieu, both educated and uneducated, also school attendance.

The common feature of the boys training is the "street education", life with men outside the home. In a village milieu they take part in the men's agricultural activities, particularly the guarding of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an urban/semi-urban village milieu the boys are sent away to school to revive like Sulaimani and Kirkuk. In the most urban environments the boys attend local schools. Among the parents the boy only attends school should there be a preparatory school in the village, and to the extent that his work in the fields can be dispensed with.

4: Hansen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

subsistence that will provide that deep contentment of soul, the harmony of mind, that I came across in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6–7 years of age, led in Sulaimani what we should call a street life. Playgrounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, so to say, live in the street, whilst the women and small children occupy the home. At work and at leisure boys and men spent their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel[29] showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Coran, Sure 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah ..., and towards the wombs (that bore you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dokan Dam Site with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule[30].

MARRIAGE

The limitations in the choice of spouse are found in the Coran[31]. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of his father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. At the same time the Coran recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, grand uncles and grand aunts[32]. Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, purely descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relations[33], are: father's brother's daughter, amikal, (ortho-cousin marriage); father's sister's daughter, pûrkal, (cross-cousin marriage); mother's brother's daughter, xalkal, (cross-cousin marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, pûrkal, (ortho-cousin marriage).

In the houses I stayed in I met in the village upper class the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach[34] and Barth[35] is that preferred by Kurds. In the sheikh family at Tuqozaw the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Sergalu. In Serkaw two of the sheikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Leach the marriages of village leaders "tend to form political alliances" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe"[36]. In my experience this was not so, for the cases I met were the father's brother's daughter choice as someone in Islam wrote.

It was stated that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Sheikh Taher's brother said that if the desired bride had an elder brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 18 year old son of the Sheikh of Tuqozaw said further that a man in his station was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that too much faith

not "free", beingsubjected to an absolutely-practised seclusion. Nor were they free to choose their spouses, but for the matter the men were here in no better case: both were subject to the decisions of the family.

As mentioned other, women's realms of action in the humble village milieu extended over the whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village sisters. On the one hand, so far as I could see, they were not so much the equals of their husbands as were their usual superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their daughters, work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening: fetching water and fuel from afar, walking in the mountains, ploughing ad harvesting, work in the fruit plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lck of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the men, mainly because the uneven sharin of the work put the women in an inferior position.

In regard to theaisecured urban milieu in homes where both husband and wife were educated, a freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife, that is to say as much as, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

Within the unsecured urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home in connexion with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the daily visits between women, was concealed by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say in regard to the persons entering and leaving the house. In my interpreter's home where the two wives belonged to the unsecured milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the summer of 1957, and refused to allow several patients in the family being taken by cab to a doctor o hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

During quelt hainbe the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult stepson, two of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Halabja. The wife extended the visit by severaldays on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a hired car to another branch of the family. In the wife's return she was violently reproached for this by her husband. How weak a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was on this occasion demonstrated. Faced y a united feminine front of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to beat an unconditional retreat. As Cuvelier says about conditions in «Muslim homes of this kind: "L'homme a contre soi toutes les femmes de son harem, et toutes tellesdes femmes voisines, et toutes celles de la ville .... conditions effroyables, assurément et emphatiklle", ond goes on to say: "... Cet effroyt tyran, le maître du harem, avrait du pouvoir absolu et des droits le plus revoltants, s'il ne prohibissement le mari le plus trompé qui soit au monde ...."[1]. As I see it, a woman belonging to the unsecured urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a remarkably strong position, and the husband, despite his right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

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THE MAN'S POSITION IN THE HOUSE

The man's place in the home. The man's place in the home must be viewed in conjunction with the distribution of authority between men and women. 562 592

Within the village aristocracy the guest house was the man's particular domain. In addition, his realm of action was the world outside the home. He moved about the village, inspected his fields, paid visits to other villagers and travelled to Baghdad, Kirkuk or Sulaimaniyah on business and pleasure. His freedom of movement was limited only by time, urge, and economic circumstances. At the same time he was a semi-partner in the life lived in the family section of the home. (This is to assess a matter of course, but it had no parallel in any of the other three milieus.) He not only ate and slept in the home, but also spent some hours of the day in the family circle. During the time I witnessed daily life in the Sheikh's home at Topzawa, I noticed that relations between husband and wives were warm, lively, and pleasant. The presence of two female strangers, my interpreter and I, passed off easily and naturally. Male relatives arriving on longer or shorter visits also joined the family life, and a common life existed in the other homes of the village aristocracy that I visited.

In the humble village milieu, on the other hand, the men spent his leisure hours with the other men of the village in the tea house or chatted with groups in the village booth. Village men danced alone some evenings before a wedding in order to utilize some musicians who had arrived. In the village milieu there was far greater possibilities for a male group life than obtained for the village aristocracy, and consequently the division between the worlds of men and women—as characteristic of Muslim areas—was accentuated. 562 369 517 565

At first sight a common life within the home was to be expected in the educated urban milieu, but there was surprisingly little of this. The men could be seen sitting in the street outside the tea house, walking around together in the streets or in the park, which was only open to women on one day of the week when men were excluded. From the point of view of work, for example in the schools, there was in the educated urban milieu no division between the men's and women's worlds. The division arose in leisure hours when the women either paid or received visits at which no men were present. Mixed parties with married couples were unknown. The home thus belonged to the women in the leisure hours, the men spending their time with other men. During a visit my interpreter and I paid to one of her female colleagues, married to a male colleague, the husband was at home. He gave the impression of being unaccustomed to, and not quite happy about, the situation, original out of consideration for a European guest. On another occasion when several women teachers called, all colleagues of the wife, he was not present. As in the humble village milieu, the educated urban community split into two worlds outside working hours, each going its own way. 562 369 519

This division appeared in its purest form in the home of my interpreter. Here the father only returned home to eat his meals and to spend the night. The rest of the time he passed in his small business in the town. He was a representative of a Baghdad firm that supplied electrical articles. His leisure 562 593

4: Human E-4 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

His leisure

562 593 [883] 517 hours were spent at his favourite tea house or in the souks. The division applied also to the adolescent sons, who in their leisure hours were sent out from the homes to obtain a "street education" (see p. 114, 115). Only small boys of from 5 to 6 years of age still belonged to the home, that is to say, the women's world. For an outsider it seemed that this separation of the two sexes during the day caused the men to inhabit a world utterly devoid of women. From tea houses, booths, or on benches men saw only anonymous, concealed figures hasten past. No woman's face or form was visible. When Oberg[2] says that in Oriental areas a man outside his home meet the persons—other men—who constitute his spiritual content, he is quite right as regards conditions in a Kurdish town like Sulaimani. However, this can be extended to mean that the man also meets in other men persons who come to mean something for him in other ways. The social connections of Kurdish men evinced at times a homosexual tinge; they could be seen walking together with arms round waists, holding hands and interlacing fingers.

[838] Within the home there seemed to be remarkably little room for him. A peg or nail on the wall for his clothes, a place on the floor by the meal tray, a mattress or iron bedstead wherever he had decided to sleep – that was all. Man's position in the home was clearly demonstrated one evening in my interpreter's home. A woman's party was in progress when the master of the house and his 26 year old son returned at about 10 p.m. In the courtyard, some twenty-five women were seated on chairs, mattresses and shawls, their black over-garments and veils hanging on pegs in the hall. Most of the women present were not allowed to be seen by the two men. It was technically impossible for so many women to rush simultaneously to obtain their abā and veils, and they therefore decided by their behaviour to create an intangible, but insurmountable, barrier between the two sexes. The men acted as though they were invisible, and the women pretended that they had not observed anyone entering the only entrance to the house. Slipping behind the row of seated women, the men disappeared into the rooms to change into their home and sleeping dress—a long striped shirt over wide pants for the older man and pyjamas for the younger. Re-appearing, they once more slunk past the seated women, and made their way to the corner of the courtyard where the ladder to the roof was leaning. Up this they vanished into the gloom. Neither the women nor the men exchanged the customary salutation. On this special occasion neither side was able to notice the presence of the other. There was nothing for the men to do but disappear from view, and as the women were occupying the area of the whole house, this meant going to bed on the roof.

593 595 562 The way this home was arranged, very few square metres seemed to be left at the disposal of the husband and the grown-up son. Of course, in this case it was the common home of two wives. However, there was very little more room for the man who had his two wives installed in separate, twin houses at Kirkuk. I had no opportunity to discover how the guest room, which was the one room common to both houses, functioned if the husband had male guests. To judge by similar cases in my interpreter's home it can be assumed that the women prepared refreshments, but kept to themselves in another room, cut off from the guest room by a passage that led from the street to the courtyard, or retired to the courtyard itself and the small rooms surrounding it. However, the guest room was not the husband's living room in the ordinary way. The two apartments together formed a house possessing two entrances from the street, but were inside unconnected. Each was a woman's home where the husband

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

was in turn received as an honoured guest. To illustrate both a husband's position in a Kurdish Muslim home appeared to a young Englishman, I quote a letter received from one of the British engineers at the Dokan Dam site: who, with his wife, visited my interpreter's home after my departure: "Our visit ... almost coincided with a wedding of one of the sisters there .... It is certainly a woman's world in that household. The day after the wedding, the next day that we were there, the new husband was nowhere to be seen, and when we asked where he was we got the answer that already they had got tired of him kicking his heels round the house and they had sent him out in the town." As [redacted] man[1] says of the Egyptian *fellahin* woman: "Though theoretically they are supposed to be entirely in subjection to the male sex, in practice they can, and often do, maintain a very firm hold on their husbands .... Indeed, I am often inclined to think that it is the poor oppressed Egyptian man who has a claim to my sympathy, and that the over-ruled, oppressed wife is somewhat of a myth".

In regard to possibility of movement and the distribution of authority between men and women, it appears from the foregoing that the four feminine milieus within the area investigated evince the following picture (see diagram).

Distribution of certain elements inside the four milieus.

Certain elements	Village aristocracy		Humble village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unreported	reported	unreported	reported	unreported	reported	unreported	reported
Face veil and shid	(+)	(+)	(+)	- (+)	+	+	+	+
Seclusion	-	-	-				+	+
Freedom of movement			+	+	+	+		
Position of women	equal to men		inferior to men		equal to men		superior to men	
Common life	+							
Polygamy	+		(+)				+	+

I *In the village aristocracy*: No veil, but the maintenance of seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. A certain common life exists outside the home.

II *In the humble village milieu*: Neither veil nor seclusion. Distribution of authority in the man's favour. Slight or no common life inside the home, that is to say the maintenance of the social barrier between the men's and women's worlds.

III *In the educated urban milieu*: Use of the veil, but no seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. Slight common life in the home, thus the maintenance of the social barrier between the worlds of men and women.

IV *In the uneducated urban milieu*: Both veil and seclusion. Distribution of authority to woman's advantage. No common life in the home, thus the maintenance of a barrier between the worlds of men and women.

It is hoped that it appears from the foregoing how difficult it is to use the terms "free position" (or lack of it) and "equality" (or lack of it) when it is a matter of the Kurdish variant of the Islamic cultural pattern. Seclusion cannot be compared with the lack of liberty that existed in our culture until the

4: Human E-5 (1957) 1961 MAIL Kurd MA11

dream of not having to face a united women's front of, say, mother, wives (usually chosen by the women of his family), plus sisters, daughters half and fully grown, who ordered his life from start to finish. In an "educated wife" he hoped to obtain compensation for the social and emotional contact he was now forced to seek during the hours of day with other men.

This leads us to a discussion of the Islamic, and thus the Kurdish woman's marital position and the marriages arranged by the family. As already mentioned, the choice of a young man's married partner is practically always left to the women of his family, that is to say the mother or step-mother and sisters, whereafter the matter is laid before the father for approval. In regard to the fact that married couples in many cases have never seen each other before the marriage is to be consummated, the general Western idea is that it must be difficult for a young girl to be given to an unknown man. However, it must be equally trying for the young man. This is also pointed to by Granquist when she says[6]: "In what concerns a woman's lack of freedom in her marriage the same thing holds good to a great extent of the young man".

* It was characteristic that the brother of Sheikh Taffie in Tsqurva, who was thinking of going to Europe, asked me if it really was true that one could walk up to any woman in the street and offer her marriage. That was his first impression of liberty of choice in Europe. He had never envisaged any sentimental basis for marriage.

The young woman is thus selected by the women with whom she will have to live and work, as the young couple usually dwells in the bridegroom's home. Her most beforehand but highly-prized by the bride price paid out on the construction of marriage, which is expended to a greater or lesser degree on the luxury with which she is to be surrounded. In most cases she knows the women who are to be her daily companions and fellow-workers. From her own home she is well trained in the domestic work that can be expected of her. She has been brought up with the quite natural idea that her most important destiny and greatest happiness is to be allowed to bear children. From the years spent in the home among other women she has heard and witnessed everything worth knowing about the difficulties of matrimonial relations. She is not expected to be her husband's comrade on a spiritual or intellectual level. The basis for the joint family idea, with several generations housed within the the same building is a married life of a different nature, less organised than in our culture pattern. During the day the husband, even among the village aristocracy, has little opportunity of companionship with his wife, as the great boundary between the form of life of men and women compelled him to seek the society of other men, whilst on her side the woman enters the feminine half of the community. On entering marriage, a young woman, in addition to her own personal qualities, is regarded as a representative of a whole family, with which it has been felt desirable to become allied. She arrives in an aura of her own family's glory. She herself had no personal expectations beyond the advantages to be derived from the married state and the fulfilment of a woman's natural desire to have children. As young people in good families had not seen much other before marriage, it was obvious that no sentimental basis existed on which to start the union, but this did not mean that later on a high degree of sympathy might not develop between husband and wife and that this was quite

562 593 sufficient to ensure an harmonious life together,particularly because the culture pattern more or less separated the couple during the day. The young woman was thus faced with demands she was able to fulfil, highly-valued beforehand, with a *peasant of a* gain if greater sympathy or love was born between herself and her mate. She was but little subjected to comparison with other women, for in his outside life the husband never met them; the wives of his friends he never saw. In the home he met only those with whom marriage was out of the question. The threats to her marriage were thus not the chances that at his place of work or in unity her husband met and fell in love with another woman, but were far more logically justified. Life together proved impossible, both husband and [584] wife could secure the dissolution of the marriage(see p. 121). Should she bear no children, or no sons, an extra wife was justified. This might mean that the family of the other wife stipulated that the first wife should be renounced, or that the two women could not tolerate daily life together. By the stipulation of a large sum to be set aside for the contingency of divorce, the wife's family assured the bride beforehand an adequately as was humanly possible.

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584 The man, on the other hand, gave everything he owned at the time, perhaps assisted by his family, for a woman who was certainly to the taste of his female relatives, but not necessarily to his. Should he not like his bride after the marriage had taken place, he had in the first place invested a lot of money in this disappointment, and secondly had to sustain his case against the women of his family, who had selected her. A new wife of the four sanctioned by the Coran, depending upon one's economic circumstances, was another unknown ticket in a marriage lottery.

593 562 [586] From the moment a man passed from the unmarried to the married state, he was for the rest of his life the head of a family. As the bride price was old when marriage was contracted, the husband had not only the right but also the duty to keep the children[6] in the event of divorce. Quite small children, it is true, stayed with the mother until they had reached a certain age, but then returned to the father. In the event of a fresh marriage a man thus had to chance of leaving his children. The new wife, or [587] wives, who entered his home took over the way of looking after the brood of children that might already be there. This provided the children with a stable home and childhood, something that is not always the case in the West. The constant factor in the home were thus, theoretically, the father and the children, whilst the mother was the fluctuating point. This gave father, mother and children a mutual status quite different from the position of those three home elements in our culture.

Considerable attention has been paid to the difficulties that could arise between women when one more of the four wives sanctioned by religion were acquired. Little attention has been paid, on the other hand, to the difficulties facing the new wife when the home she entered had adolescent or adult 562 children. Nor has much consideration been give to the possibility that the stationary children, whose 586 the father is unable to marry off, may intervene in favour of their mother after she has been renounced 593 by the father. My interpreter's mother, for example, was repudiated and went back to her family, leaving behind her three children aged about, 7 and 8 (see p. 137). When these children reached the age of discretion, they demanded the return of their mother, and the father was forced to give way.

4: Hanson E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA11

With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only gets rid of the wife, but also dissolves the children's home, a phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary unmarried mother.

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[1] that the veil and seclusion, women's withdrawn social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Mohammed, and were first adopted by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains that this retired status obtained religious sanction from Sura 24, verse 31 of the Koran. Consequently, the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam *Sari'a*, goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Koran, the whole *fiqh* system, comprises every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[2]. The restrictions resulting therefrom were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect and care in all four feminine milieus.

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the house. There is therefore reason to point out that the man may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments of all the other homes he may visit. In Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the squire's house, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and reduced to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed an exception.

The banks, post offices and public offices I visited were as gloomy and cheerless as barracks. A chair at a street corner or a tea house bench was the womanless world to which a male was relegated on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as did the women and children in their hall of society. Somehow or other the women seemed to have discovered a more lively and friendly social convention between themselves than had the men, or, for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about in the men's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see. In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the *sûq*, in banks and in post offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men saw only a black veil.

In view of the great part that conformance with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising that the shrewd life of women in Turkey has had to proceed hand in hand with a sustained offensive on all things Arab and

Q. Hainaux E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Hard MA13

were given, and while it is clear that the husband himself would look down upon such a wife, and that the public opinion would belittle her and therefore a high bride price is looked upon as a protection and a guarantee that a woman shall be honoured and well treated. Europeans have looked at the facts differently and said: so low is the position of the woman that she is bought. Now people among whom bridal price is customary do not understand the Western ideal; their natural conclusion is that she is not thought to be worth a bride price. Here two completely different points of view clash and in each case only the objectionable in the opposite view is considered. It shows how much people's judgement depends on customs, which is no certain or absolute measure of value"[9].

What is now being offered the Muslim woman in various areas, and what will be offered the Kurdish woman sooner or later, is the abandonment of a protected and valued position; she will be asked to renounce being an essential link in a man's career, the only means whereby he can raise himself to the more socially-valued married state.

Instead she will obtain the partial equality we know in the West. In place of the clearly-stressed special position based on the difference of the sexes, she will acquire a partial equality with the opportunity to compete with men in all walks of life. At the same time her efforts in the spheres that have hitherto been reserved to her will be correspondingly less prized.

As the industrialisation of the country progresses, a large part of women's domestic activities will, as has happened in other countries, be transferred to trade with all its consequences, both good and bad. Her firmly-anchored culture pattern, sanctioned by religion, will collapse, though not by her wish, rather the reverse.

In the event of divorce and the adoption of monogamy, the stationary home that has so far existed for children will be dissolved. The solitary, divorced mother and the deserted unmarried mother will become social features to be incorporated into the community structure, as is about to be the case in our culture, where the number of solitary women has now reached such proportions that it can neither be overlooked nor concealed. The elderly will not obtain a place in the joint family, and the homes will no longer be able to afford protection to girls. The paramount demand concerning virginity is only logically justified provided a home exists where the girl can dwell, protected from the difficulties of life, and her parents— and not herself—arrange her marriage.

The older members of the family are deprived of the right and duty to plan the marriages of the young and thus extend their family connections with consequent improved security for the individual. The emotional choice of a married partner will become universal. As the young gradually take their fate into their own hands they will neglect their personal responsibility for their elders, which will be taken over by the State.

When saying that women are "emancipated" in Islamic areas when the veil, and what it stands for, is abolished, this change in her way of life cannot be compared with what happened to the Western woman when emancipated at the turn of the century. It is true that the life pattern of Islamic women

reduced brideprice, or none at all; so from the point of view of the potential groom, the incentive to cousin marriage is considerable. No rationalization of the pattern in terms of the Koranic approval of close kin marriage was ever advanced in conversations on the subject — in fact, the contrary was occasionally claimed. — We shall return later to some more basic factors relating to this marriage pattern.

Any special preference for FaBrDa as against the other three types of cousins was denied, and the higher incidence of FaBrDa marriages was explained by the fact that there «are more of them». This is in fact true, as far as the local village is concerned. A certain amount of inter-village marriage does take place. Marriage being neolocal in the man's village or occasionally patrilocal, all FaBr's children will be living in your own village, whereas a certain number of those related to you through a female will reside in other villages.

The frequency of marriage with actual, non-classificatory cousin is very high, ranging around 60 % in many of the villages studied (see Table 3). Considering that any irregularity in sex or age distribution of cousins must affect the opportunities for cousin marriage adversely, 60 % is probably close to the practical maximal frequency which such a marriage form can ever attain.

A second type of marriage is the *zhin-bo-zhin* (= sister exchange). In such cases of course the bride price is eliminated by the reciprocity of the two men exchanging their sisters with one another, and only the expenses immediately connected with the marriage celebration and trousseau remain. From the purely financial point of view, the sister exchange is thus advantageous, and may in a sense be regarded as an extension of the FaBrDa marriage pattern within the village community. In the non-tribal villages, such marriages are fairly frequent. On other counts, however, they are not considered too satisfactory. Where no close kin ties exist between the two men performing the exchange, the chances of disruption of the unions are increased: sibling loyalties are of the same order of magnitude as loyalty between spouses, so domestic difficulties in the one household are said to produce similar conflicts in the other household, in a vicious circle.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MAll Kurd MAll

tion of the Kurdish lineage organization we shall return to a more 581
complete discussion of these interrelations (pp. 49 ff).

Plural wives are rather uncommon in the villages, though they are 587
thought to be a quite desirable investment for the man who can [595]
afford it. The average incidence for 94 men in 4 villages runs c. 4 %.
The levirate is not infrequently practiced, but more as a convenience
than as an established rule or right. Unless the widow has a well
established father or brother, she tends to remain in the house of
her late husband under the protection of her brother-in-law, in
which case he might as well have some return for his expenses. Strict
observance of the Islamic rule of unlawful conjunction however
prevents him from doing this if his first wife is a close relative of
the widow (and where cousin marriage is common, this will be a
fairly frequent limitation). The sororate is not known as a marriage
practice.

KINSHIP.

593 •

A positional system of rights and privileges organizes the house-
hold group. Following Moslem ideals, the adult *male* has complete
control, and can make any decision he sees fit. This Islamic rule
seems slightly to exceed Kurdish popular feeling on the matter. It
is very difficult to obtain any impression of the internal workings of
a Moslem family, but one has the feeling that Kurdish women have
considerable influence in the close family circle. Occasionally this
even carries outside the kinship group, so a woman may come to
occupy a high political position. Similarly, the father's absolute
authority is strongly questioned by the sons, as indicated by the
frequency of neolocal residence. There are almost invariable tensions
connected with the setting up of an independent household for a
married son — the father tends to resist this reduction of his power,
and for the son it takes on the color of breaking loose and becoming
fully adult. However, with sacred sanctions and de-facto power
supporting him, the father certainly occupies the central position as
authority and organizer of the group.

In the case of a widow with one or several sons, the household is
named after the major son, and the actual position of authority

603 passed on in the male line. But the mother does generally retain some recognized and actual authority by virtue of her parental position. There is a general feeling that the ties between mother and son should be close and intimate. In the case of divorced or discarded plural wives, the woman will normally, if she has an established son, become an honored member of her son's household. But the seminal succession should certainly pass in the male line, and only where there is no male member above puberty will the household carry a woman's name. If only for economic reasons, this is a quite rare situation.

The daughter is entirely subject to her father's authority. He functions as her marriage guardian, and even has the right to impose marriage on her — according to Islamic law only before puberty, but in practice also later. The position as marriage guardian — giving the right to receive the brideprice — passes on the death of the father to the girl's nearest male agnatic relative. In *Shafi* law, this is first to her grandfather, second to her brother. Only father and grandfather, however, have the legal right to impose marriage.

Between brothers, relations of supra- and sub-ordination are determined by relative power. In the early years, this means physical power, and is closely connected with relative age. There is, however, no rule of succession, either primo- or ultimogeniture, and the relative positions of brothers are at any time decided by de-facto power and force of personality.

603 This positional system has further kinship ramifications, best seen in connection with the actual system of kinship terminology, Diagram 2. a) The child's relations with the grandparents are usually mediated through one of the parents, e. g. the son accompanies his mother on her frequent visits to her paternal household. In this situation authority and control over the child remains with the mother, and the relationship grandmother-grandchild is generally indulgent. The term *mamik* or *nanna* then also has an extended usage as a term of endearment to all older women of the village. Relations with the grandfather, especially the paternal grandfather will be 604 more tempered with respect. b) The other special relationship is with *mam*, father's brother. This term again is used in an extended meaning towards older men to indicate a relationship o closeness

[text continues on p. 32]